Annual Conference of the Department of Public Information
for Non-Governmental Organizations

PEACE, JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT: INGREDIENTS FOR AN EMERGING WORLD ORDER

FINAL REPORT

11-13 September 1991
United Nations Headquarters
New York

Organized by the NGO and Institutional Relations Section
Department of Public Information
United Nations, New York

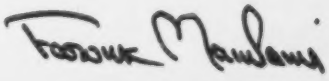
FOREWORD

The 1991 Conference of the Department of Public Information for Non-Governmental Organizations, on "Peace, Justice, and Development: Ingredients for an Emerging World Order", was the largest NGO conference ever held at the United Nations. More than 1,200 representatives of 450 NGOs from 54 countries attended.

The three-day conference addressed how recent geo-political events present new opportunities for enhancing the role of the United Nations in maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of economic and social development. Sessions also focused on the role of the media, and on challenges facing NGOs. The success of the conference should be attributed to the importance and timeliness of the theme, and to the outstanding speakers and resource persons who made such valuable contributions and generated great interest and enthusiasm for follow-up activities.

New features of the Annual DPI/NGO Conference included the live transmission via satellite of an address given by His Royal Highness, Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal, in Amman, Jordan. Mr. Hugh Downs, host of the ABC television news magazine 20/20, introduced a video presentation specially produced by the United Nations for this conference. The NGO lunch interchanges also took on a new dimension this year, with the much appreciated participation of several speakers and thorough preparation and organization by NGO volunteers.

This report aims to provide a comprehensive summary of the conference proceedings. I would like to extend special thanks to the team of NGO rapporteurs and interns of the NGO Section for their significant contribution to this final report. I am hopeful that the report will be a useful resource for NGO representatives, policy-makers, teachers, students, and others whose cooperation will be needed to build a better world for humanity.



Farouk Mawlawi
Chief
NGO and Institutional Relations Section
Department of Public Information

READEX
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Wednesday, 11 September 1991

Open from 8:30 a.m.	REGISTRATION, Public Lobby, General Assembly Building (46th Street and First Avenue) Please note that only written questions may be presented at plenary sessions.
10:00 a.m.	PLENARY SESSION - Conference Room 4
Introduction:	**Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief Non-Governmental Organizations and Institutional Relations Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations **Sylvan M. Barnet Jr.**, Chairperson Executive Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations Associated with the Department of Public Information
Welcome:	**Antoine Blanca** Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation United Nations

Wednesday, 11 September 1991 (continued)

11:00 a.m.-12:45 p.m. The Search for Peace in an Emerging World Order

Chair: **Peggy Sanford Carlin**, Chair, Conference Planning Committee, United Nations Association of the United States of America

Sir Paul Reeves, Representative of the Anglican Communion at the United Nations, Former Governor General of New Zealand

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

12:00 Video: "The United Nations for a Better World"

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON RECESS

NGO Interchange -- Major Issues of Concern for NGOs
Informal discussion at the Church Centre for the United Nations (777 United Nations Plaza, First Avenue and 44th Street). Speakers invited. Sandwiches, coffee and tea will be available.

2:45 - 5:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION - Conference Room 4

Promoting Economic and Social Justice through Development

Chair: **Mary Purcell**
International Federation of University Women

Speakers: **Karin Lökhaug**, Deputy Executive Director, Operations United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Janice Love, World Council of Churches, Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina

Mahbub Ul Haq, Special Advisor to the Administrator, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Thursday 12 September, 1991

9:45 - 11:45 a.m. PLENARY SESSION - Conference Room 4

The United Nations at Work: The Interrelationship between Peace, Justice and Development

Moderator: **Richard Gardner**, Former U.S. Ambassador to Italy and Henry Moses Professor of International Law, Columbia University

Guido de Marco, President, the 46th United Nations General Assembly

James O. C. Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, United Nations

Ricardo V. Luna, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of Perú to the United Nations

Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva

12:00 - 12:45 p.m. Video Screening

Presentor: **Hugh Downs**, Host, ABC News "20/20", the prime time weekly newsmagazine programme.

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON RECESS

NGO Interchange -- NGO Programmes

Informal discussion at the Church Centre for the United Nations (777 United Nations Plaza, First Avenue and 44th Street). Speakers invited. Sandwiches, coffee and tea will be available.

Thursday, 12 September 1991 (continued)

STRATEGY SESSIONS

2:45 - 5:30 p.m. — AN EMERGING WORLD ORDER: STRATEGIES FOR ACTION

STRATEGY SESSION 1 — Safeguarding Human Rights: Universal Education and Democratization (Trusteeship Council Chamber)

Moderator:

Marjorie Thorpe Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations

Daniel Wegener, Baha'i International

Panelists:

Clarence Dias, President, International Centre for Law in Development

Dimitry Mamleev, Vice Chairman of the Board Soviet Peace Fund, Assistant Editor, Izvestia

Purificación Quisumbing, Former Chairman, United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Jany Gabriel Parise, President, Organisation Mondiale des Experts, Conseil Arbitre

Elissavet Stamatopoulou-Robbins, Chief, United Nations Centre for Human Rights, New York Office

STRATEGY SESSION 2 — Peace-making and Peace-keeping: The Evolving Role of the United Nations (Conference Room 4)

Moderator:

Edward C. Luck, President, United Nations Association of the United States

Panelists:

Marrack Goulding, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, United Nations

James Leonard, Director, Washington Council on Non-Proliferation

Dayle E. Spencer, Director, Conflict Resolution Program, The Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Thursday, 12 September 1991 (continued)

STRATEGY SESSION 3 — **Environment and Development: Finding a Common Strategy** (Conference Room 1)

Moderator: **Noel J. Brown**, Special Representative to the Executive Director, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

Panelists: **A. Karim Ahmed**, The Committee for the National Institute for the Environment

Roma Y. Stibravy, Environmental Expert, Consultant to United Nations Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

Michio Kaku, Professor, Physics Department, City University of New York

STRATEGY SESSION 4 — **Lifeline for Development: Economic Stability and Equitable World Trade** (Conference Room 2)

Moderator: **Enrique ter Horst**, Assistant Secretary-General, Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, United Nations

Panelists: **Betty Goetz Lall**, Project Director, Council for Economic Priorities

Roger Lawrence, Director, Coordinator of the Resources for Development Programmes, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Herbert Samuel Walker, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations

6:00 - 8:00 p.m. — **EVENING RECEPTION**

Venue: Delegates' Dining Room
Sponsored by the DPI/NGO Executive Committee
(Advance reservations required)

Friday, 13 September 1991

9:45 a.m.-12:45 p.m. MORNING PLENARY

The Emerging World Order: We the Peoples -- New Challenges and Opportunities for NGO Action

Chair: **Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief, NGO and Institutional Relations Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations

Speakers: **Aparna Basu**, Secretary General, All India Women's Conference

M.A.T. Caparas, Chairman, The Rotary Foundation Trustees, and former President of Rotary International

Myriel Davies, Deputy Director, United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Stephen Lewis, Former Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations

Valentina V. Tereshkova, Chair, Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Foreign Countries

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON RECESS

NGO Interchange -- NGO Action Through the Media
Informal discussion at the Church Centre for the United Nations (777 United Nations Plaza, First Avenue and 44th Street). Speakers invited. Sandwiches, coffee and tea will be available.

2:45 - 4:45 p.m. PLENARY SESSION - Conference Room 4

Report on Strategy Sessions

Rapporteur: Estelle Linzer, Albert Schweitzer Fellowship

Friday, 13 September 1991 (cont'd)

2:45 - 4:45 p.m.	PLENARY SESSION - Conference Room 4
	MEDIA SESSION
	The Role of the Media in an Emerging World Order
Moderator:	**Ian Steele**, New York Bureau Chief for the "Depthnews" Service of the Press Foundation of Asia
Speakers:	**Paulo Amorim**, New York Bureau Chief, Globo TV Network-Brazil
	Frederick Eno, U.S. correspondent for African Concord weekly magazine published in London and Lagos
	Leslie Gelb, Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
	Trina McQueen, Vice-President, News, Current Affairs and Newsworld, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)
	Hamid Mowlana, Professor, Director, International Communication Programme, School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C.
4:45 p.m.- 5:00	CONFERENCE CLOSING:
	Vadim P. Perfiliev, Director, Dissemination Division, Department of Public Information, United Nations

PEACE, JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT: INGREDIENTS FOR AN EMERGING WORLD ORDER

SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

11 September 1991 (Morning)

Sylvan Barnet Jr., Chair, NGO/DPI Executive Committee, welcomed NGO representatives to the Annual DPI/NGO Conference by saying "we must seize the moment by discussing economic, social and human development that is just and fair for all." He provided a definition of development: "gradual growth through progressive change", and said that development is another word for peace.

Mr. Barnet stressed that the task of NGOs is to educate, advocate, and participate in an increasingly democratic world. He cited the ability of modern mass communications to reveal mismanaged or corrupt governments. According to Mr. Barnet, NGOs have played an important role in creating the new transparency of our information age. He said one third of General Assembly resolutions now refer to NGOs.

Antoine Blanca, Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (who was on mission in Iran at the time of the conference), welcomed NGO representatives to the 1991 Annual DPI/NGO Conference. He said the presence of numerous NGOs bore witness to the profound links between the United Nations and NGOs. Government action was incomplete if it was not supported by public opinion and local communities.

Mr. Blanca said that after 45 years of cold war, East-West rivalries, we celebrate the coming of a new world order based on the active solidarity of the international community. If the objectives of the 1945 United Nations Charter are to be realized, cooperation is crucial. He said the United Nations was honoured to be entrusted with important tasks by Member States, but those tasks could not be carried out without political and material support from of the States and from NGOs.

Mr. Blanca said improvement of the fate of the world's poorest people has not matched political progress. The great economic upsurge of East Asian countries showed that it was possible for developing countries to abandon underdevelopment quite quickly. Referring to sub-Saharan Africa, Mr. Blanca said the Secretary-General had set an objective of six per cent economic growth for that area. This would double the region's per capita income to $700 by the year 2015. The Secretary-General also stressed the need to diversify African economies, which often depend on the export of only a few commodities and which are thus crippled by low commodity prices.

Without development, there could be neither peace nor justice for developing and industrialized countries alike. The poverty and instability of societies are ingredients of a gigantic time bomb that the United Nations must disarm, Mr. Blanca said.

Mr. Blanca said the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) to be held in Brazil in June 1992, and the 1994 Conference on Population and Development, will measure how seriously the international community is committed to the struggle against the scourges threatening our planet's survival. The United Nations will coordinate the often contradictory governmental, inter- and non-governmental initiatives. During these two

conferences, a crucial issue to be debated is whether science and technology could be instruments of destruction and death, or of progress and well-being. The United Nations expects NGOs to make a significant contribution to the two conferences, Mr. Blanca said.

In conclusion, Mr. Blanca read an address from Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

"I regret that it is not possible for me to be here in person to address the representatives of non-governmental organizations from all over the world who have gathered at the United Nations for the Annual DPI/NGO Conference, and to extend to you my warmest greetings and best wishes. As your Conference opens, I will be in Teheran at the invitation of President Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Under the circumstances, I simply wish to draw your attention to my Annual Report on the Work of the Organization which has just been issued. It reflects the ideas and thoughts that I would have shared with you, had I been able to join you. I suggest that it might provide a useful basis for your discussions.

As new vistas open for countries to work together in ways they had not done before, there are far more solid grounds for hope for the future. No longer limited to a peripheral role, the United Nations has come much closer to the vision of its Charter. In this context, the role of non-governmental organizations, which is laid down in the Charter, will surely become even more important.

I wish to reiterate my deep appreciation to you for your strong and unwavering support, both at the grassroots and the international level. From women's organizations in Africa, to environmental groups in Asia, to organizations in the North advocating more responsive policies towards the South, NGOs have made an impact far beyond their numbers. The protection of human rights, the promotion of social justice within and between societies, and the reduction of the level of arms will call for their sustained advocacy. I know that the United Nations can rely on your continuing partnership and close cooperation as we strive for peace, justice and development on a safe planet. I wish you all success".

The Search for Peace in an Emerging World Order

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan spoke on "The Search for Peace," via satellite to NGO representatives. He began by quoting the Grand Old Duke of York: "If you are halfway between two places, you are nowhere." He also quoted Woodrow Wilson: "There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power, not organized rivalries but an organized peace." His Royal Highness spoke on how peace can be brought to the Middle East, the theme of his 1984 book, Search for Peace. According to His Royal Highness, we have failed to muster the political will necessary to achieve peace. Successive missed opportunities and tragedies in the Middle East during the last decade culminated in the recent Gulf crisis.

His Royal Highness said that the breakdown of strategic confrontation between the superpowers is moving the world towards a period of recurring crises with a "supra-regional" rather than a "purely-regional" character. The forty-year-old cold war wasted armaments, and its contradictions became internalized in all aspects of international relations. A Security Council structured on the cold war may have little to offer the new world.

His Royal Highness said the relevance of security and development to social and human needs has to be reconsidered because of global changes. The international community must find a way to avert famine in Iraq, because hunger is a form of genocide. His Royal Highness affirmed that in approaching the Middle East process, it is necessary to stike a balance between respect for international law norms and Security Council resolutions, on the one hand, and ensuring that negotiations are meaningful, on the other. For peace to be meaningful and durable, he said, it has to be among people, and not only between governments and states.

His Royal Highness proposed a Helsinki-type approach to reinforce the search for peace with a state-to-state effort. A broadly defined security concept must address the root causes of conflict and recognize the military, political, and economic dimensions of security. His Royal Highness said that a resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict would pave the way for a conference for security and cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME). Many regions of the world have faced the challenge of reconciling security to the often conflicting perceptions and aspirations of different peoples. The primary focus of security should be people and not states, nor the elite, the affluent or the more powerful, he emphasized.

His Royal Highness attributed the main consumption of Middle East oil to the "Helsinki 34", the Middle East's primary suppliers of arms and its main creditors. Oil revenues in the Middle East have fueled the arms race, causing the external debt crisis faced by many countries in the region. Effective consideration of arms control must therefore focus on the issues of energy and indebtedness, he said. For example, the recent proposal from Brussels for a European energy charter outlined three objectives for the European energy sector including Eastern Europe: security of supply, safeguarding the environment, and efficiency of production.

His Royal Highness concluded by saying: "NGO action can provide a bridgehead to overcome the dichotomy between the international political and economic frameworks. It is with this sense of appreciation and expectation that I wish you all the success in your endeavours."

Bishop Sir Paul Reeves, Representative of the Anglican Communion to the United Nations, said that there is nothing new about the concept of a world order maintained through the cooperation of the major powers. The 1815 Congress of Vienna maintained the "balance of power" among European states and prevented any one state from predominating. It was a system which lasted until 1914, he said, when all the major European states catapulted into war over a relatively minor incident. "No wonder Woodrow Wilson wanted to replace the balance of power with what he called the community of power," he commented. National interests prevailed; the Second World War was practically inevitable.

Most developments in international relations have historical antecedents and the New World Order is no exception, according to Bishop Reeves. It was

President Bush, addressing Congress in September 1990, who pushed for a "New World Order": "a new world ...struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we have known, a world where the strong respect the rights of the weak." Bishop Reeves said that despite optimism and vision, the time has not yet arrived for what the President said. He questioned whether the United States and Europe would cooperate, and he expressed concern about the role of Eastern Europe and China.

We are witnessing a shift in power politics as the United States fills the vacuum created by the collapse of Soviet power and the Non-Aligned Movement, he said. Nevertheless, peace depends not on nuclear deterrence, but on a properly functioning United Nations. The United Nations does not simply reflect world opinion but can also galvanize it to endorse proposed action. The relationship between the United Nations and Member States is complex and sometimes hard to unravel. Bishop Reeves quoted the Secretary-General's address to the University of Bordeaux (24 April 1991): "When the permanent members agree on the course of action to be followed by the Council they wield enormous power, which can overshadow the role of other members of the Council and other organs of the United Nations, including that of the Secretary-General, and affect the public perception of the United Nations as an impartial intermediary for peace".

Bishop Reeves quoted Thomas Hobbes on the sovereignty of the modern state: "The people are subjects, not citizens. They have given up their rights to act for themselves and now the state acts for each individual. All rights flow from the sovereign. The content of justice is the same as the content of the law, of which the sovereign state is the sole author".

Challenges to this doctrine include the right to secede, as well as respect for international law and human rights. A third challenge comes from indigenous peoples who signed treaties with colonial powers but did not forfeit their right to self-determination. Modern states nevertheless have a moral right to control the policies of their territories; without sovereignty there would be chaos.

The word peace sits more easily on the lips of theologians than on those of politicians, Bishop Reeves said. It is easier to call for peace than to define it. Peace, like love, forgiveness, or benevolence, is not a right to be demanded. Even if the world were governed by love we would still have difficulty allocating resources. Similarly, patriotism provides no clue on how to distribute national wealth. Justice is needed more than peace alone, since justice is a duty that can be demanded as a right.

Promoting Economic and Social Justice through Development

Ms. Karin Lökhaug, Deputy Executive Director (Operations), United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, emphasized that justice can be achieved, but we are a long way from fulfilling that responsibility. The limitations of political, social and economic efforts made in the name of "equity" are evident in the sweeping changes of Eastern Europe and in the increasing democratization of Africa. However, in recent years sufficient progress has been made in the field of human development to create a new paradigm for society's understanding, concern and determination to improve the human condition.

During the past decade it has been possible to show governments that investing in the protection and nurturing of the individual provides tangible returns. With regard to children, mass communications is used to inform parents and communities about the use of low-cost technologies and techniques, such as oral rehydration, immunization, breast-feeding, and nutritional supplements.

The initiative for these changes has come from popular demand, which has compelled governments to cooperate. NGOs have been the driving force behind some of the most important recent social changes, drafting the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and advocating the International Code on the Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes. Long-time pressure from NGOs led infant food manufacturers to promise to discontinue providing free and low-cost breast-milk substitutes to birthing institutions.

Ms. Lökhaug hailed a cooperative international effort that raised the level of childhood immunization from less than 10 per cent at the beginning of the 1980s, to at least 80 per cent today. During the same period, the percentage of parents who learned oral rehydration techniques (to prevent death from diarrhea) has increased from one to 40 per cent.

Recent international action for children included the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand, March 1990) which brought together 145 NGOs and 160 governments, and the World Summit for Children in September 1990. Some 71 Heads of State and representatives of another 88 countries attended the Summit. For the first time in history, leaders from West, East, North and South sat together at the same table. The Declaration and Plan of Action of the Summit call on all governments to outline, by the end of 1991, how they will meet the extensive goals set at the World Summit for Children.

In addition to allocating new funds to humanitarian causes, each country's social spending should be restructured, Ms. Lökhaug said. The extra funds needed from the industrialized world could come from debt relief schemes, especially those linked to investments in reaching World Summit goals. The US$50 billion currently given in aid could be used more efficiently. Less than 25 per cent of bilateral, official development assistance is devoted to health and education. Aid for primary health care, including family planning, totals only about three per cent of the industrial world's aid.

In conclusion, Ms. Lökhaug said that economic and social justice is within our reach. But it can only be achieved through human-focused development such as that implemented in child survival and development efforts of recent years. When so much can be done for so little money, it is obscene not to act, she said.

Janice Love, World Council of Churches, and Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina, said that transnationalization and military industrial rivalry are two characteristics of the global political economy which are likely to continue despite global changes.

Transnationalization of economies, Ms. Love said, relates to the growth in world trade; the globalization of production, finance, and technology

flows; as well as the world-wide spread of certain aspects of culture, with liberalism and capitalism at its heart. Many refer to transnationalization as the making of a "global village", she added. Ms. Love attributed the growth and affluence of wealthy countries to their membership in organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which institutionalize a global political economy based on transnationalization.

Military-industrial rivalry results when virtually all governments harness their economies to enhance their military standing over other nations. The most deadly rivalry, that between the United States and the Soviet Union, has diminished significantly, Ms. Love said. Because all major powers have created permanent war economies inside their countries, a vicious arms trade is born from the need for weapons export. This, in turn, discourages nations from seeking peaceful resolutions to conflicts.

Ms. Love said while both transnationalization and military-industrial rivalry require an underclass, both may be collapsing, perhaps due to the ecological strain they cause.

Capitalism and communism are the two dominant conceptual alternatives for organizing modern political economies, Ms. Love said. Although change is normal in any economy, fundamental shifts from one type of economic system to another are quite rare and are often accompanied by substantial social and political turmoil.

Ms. Love commented on the failure and collapse of communism, and noted that despite capitalism's many failings, the system remains powerful and popular across the globe. She attributed the development of technological and entrepreneurial skills to capitalism; and the provision of health care, housing and literacy to communism. Problems plaguing both communist and capitalist societies include: the widening gap between rich and poor; poverty and inequality, which affect women and children most severely; governmental resources devoted to military expenditures; ecological devastation; and the undermining of the social fabric.

Sovereignty has almost always been an exclusive privilege for wealthy, powerful countries, while remaining largely a fiction for others, she said. In Ms. Love's view, NGOs play a substantial and vital role in articulating the concerns of people to governments and intergovernmental organizations. One disadvantage of government institutions is their greater formalization. Many NGOs offer alternative visions and models of organization.

Ms. Love said that pursuing justice for peoples of the world has been on the agenda of the World Council of Churches since its founding in 1948. "We need to commit and equip ourselves anew to face the task of reconstructing our social, political, economic, and ecological future so as to enhance life, not destroy it. History may not offer other generations the remarkable opportunity presented to us now. Thoughtfully, carefully, and energetically, let's embrace it," she concluded.

Mahbub Ul Haq, Special Advisor to the Administrator, United Nations Development Programme, (UNDP), spoke of a decade of, and for, the people. In national politics, the economy, and at the grass roots level, there is greater participation by the people, as NGOs globally assert that people matter.

In developing countries, over one billion people live in absolute poverty, one billion adults are illiterate, 800 million people go hungry every day, and 1.5 billion people lack access to safe water or basic health care. Some 150 million children are malnourished although sufficient food and technology exist; 300 million children are not in primary or secondary schools.

The human and social agenda is also neglected in industrialized countries, where 100 million people are below the poverty line. In the United Kingdom, 400,000 people are homeless, half of them children. Regarding child mortality, the United States ranks 44th, after many developing countries. Life expectancy of blacks in Harlem, New York, is 46 years, that is lower than in Bangladesh. While high income cannot guarantee progress, the 1991 UNDP Human Development Report shows that deprivation can be relieved over the next decade.

Crucial human development goals to be met in the 1990s include: universal primary education, universal access to basic health care, safe drinking water, and family planning. This will cost $30 billion a year, funds which can come from developing countries themselves through sensible policies, he argued. Mr. Haq presented three possible sources of funds:

1) Military spending, which amounts to $200 billion a year in developing countries, could be drastically cut. Even though developing countries have only five per cent of the North's income, they account for 20 per cent of global military expenditures, buying 75 per cent of the arms sold the globally. Despite poverty, some countries in Africa and Asia spend three times as much on their military than on the education and health of their citizens. There are eight times as many soldiers as physicians in the world today, Mr. Haq said. Several aid donors have begun linking aid to cuts in military spending, but many also supply or subsidize the export of arms.

Mr. Haq said that the United States spends 70 per cent of its foreign aid on only five countries (Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Greece and the Philippines), primarily in the form of defense support. Some say that since arms shipments are made by the private sector, they cannot be restrained. The reality of the so-called "unprecedented peace" since the Second World War is 120 conflicts resulting in 22 million casualties, all in developing countries.

2) The public and private sectors in developing countries suffer from inefficiency and corruption, Mr. Haq said. Funds need to be directed into the social sector. In some countries, the losses of public enterprises exceed total national revenue. Education and health expenditures could be doubled by privatizing production while placing social services in public hands.

3) Misguided budget priorities must be corrected, Mr. Haq said. In many poor countries, such as Malawi and Sierra Leone, 90 per cent of the health budget goes to a few hospitals for the wealthy. In Brazil, universities receive 18 times more subsidies than basic education does, while 99 per cent of university enrollment comes from higher income groups. Mr. Haq said that of the $60 billion budgeted for aid, only $5 billion are directed to human concerns such as basic education, health care, water supply and family planning. However, he stressed that human development begins at home, urging industrialized countries to take care of their own poor before providing foreign aid.

The United Nations at Work: the Interrelationship between Peace, Justice and Development

Richard Gardner, former U.S. Ambassador to Italy and Henry Moses, Professor of International Law, Columbia University, moderated the session. He cited developments in world affairs, such as the spread of democracy, and progress in human rights and market economics. However, much remains to be done. One billion people live in abject poverty and a negative resource transfer from developing to developed countries costs tens of billions of dollars a year. The population explosion frustrates economic development, triggers political instability, and causes refugee movements. Unresolved regional, ethnic and religious conflicts, the proliferation of missiles and chemical and biological weapons, and the possibility that a number of countries will acquire nuclear weapons by the year 2000, add to challenges facing the international community. But today, more than ever, the United Nations has the power to deal with these pressing issues.

Ricardo Luna, Permanent Representative of Peru to the United Nations, said that the end of the cold war enables international relations to occur with less ideological distortion. The United Nations is only now trying to fulfill its original mandate to establish a system of collective security. Previously, the United Nations had a curtailed political role, based on occasional crisis management and on peace-keeping operations in regional conflicts. It therefore could not attempt to solve substantive conflicts.

Despite progress by the United Nations in disarmament, development, and decolonization, countries have different perceptions of the central function of the United Nations. The developed powers see the United Nations as a technical and functional organization solving very specific problems. The developing countries, on the other hand, seek to make the United Nations the principal instrument for achieving better distribution of the earth's resources and more democratic management of the political process.

A unipolar system has broadened the functions of the Security Council and its five permanent members, while weakening the other organs of the United Nations system, Ambassador Luna said. If the geopolitical changes in Europe, the collapse of totalitarian ideology, and the proliferation of democratic regimes are not successfully channeled and contained, they will become major obstacles for the United Nations. The future role for the United Nations can thus be defined by more evenly distributing power among other United Nations organs, and by redefining the issue of development. Better balance of power is needed between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The collective security system should be extended to address threats to peace and security beyond the traditional and military spheres: those arising from social maladjustments, terrorism or drug trafficking. The international community must negotiate a common framework, but not through a decision of a directorate of the five permanent Security Council members. Information from relevant non-state actors at the gobal level should also be incorporated.

The United Nations could evolve from an international organization into an international authority, by expanding the power of its diverse organs, fusing peace-making with peace-keeping, and consolidating the steps needed for

pragmatic peace-building in diverse fields: political, economic, social and cultural. The United Nations could then dedicate itself to promoting an adequate distribution of economic and social resources worldwide. An alliance among governments, NGOs and the Secretariat, could overcome the obstacles aggravated by different perceptions of the role of the United Nations.

Peace-building should be considered a major task which each Member State must undertake. Breaking down the suspicion that exists among governments can help lead to peace. Ambassador Luna concluded by saying that committed NGOs and a truly dynamic Secretariat could go a long way in diluting such unwarranted and unfortunate mutual shadow-boxing".

Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said that population movements are an essential component of an emerging new world order. In addition to the existing number of refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers and migrants, the transitory world situation risks even more displacement. Balancing stability and security with people's desires to move across borders can shape a new world order.

The UNHCR has found solutions for 26 million refugees since being established in 1951. In spite of these efforts, the refugee population has grown to 16 million, highlighting its humanitarian and political urgency.

According to Ms. Ogata, both the causes and effects of refugee issues are clearly linked to peace, justice and development. Conflict, persecution, and under-development create refugees. Most large refugee situations exist in the poorest parts of the world, involving Mozambicans, Liberians, Ethiopians, Sudanese, Somalis, Afghans, and Cambodians. The close link between poverty and persecution sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between refugees and migrants. Refugee issues, in turn, can cause tension between states impeding development by diverting limited resources and creating instability in countries of origin. Governments of both developed and developing countries increasingly appear reluctant to grant asylum; many refugees are only given temporary refuge or are refused asylum, she said.

Ms. Ogata cited the generosity given by countries of asylum and the international community to UNHCR in 40 countries. Maintaining refugees in camps was not a possible solution. A more open, just and stable order must include strategies to solve displacement and to remove or reduce its causes. Brighter prospects for refugees today result from the new international climate and peace-making efforts in South Africa, Ethiopia, Western Sahara, and Cambodia.

Safe, voluntary repatriation of refugees should be our ultimate goal. This requires greater efforts at reconstruction and national development and should include the local population and the internally displaced. Greater cooperation between UNHCR, development organizations, donors and the countries is also required. Through the Conference on Refugees in Central America (CIREFCA), UNHCR sought to link refugee aid and development.

Development alone has limited value unless it is linked to improving human rights situations which cause displacement. The United Nations must work more actively and concretely to promote respect for human rights, she said. Political and humanitarian arms of the international community must work together. Early mediation in conflict situations, and peace-keeping measures, can be major tools against displacement, she said.

Ms. Ogata concluded by saying: "The underlying causes behind displacement are lack of peace, justice and development. Overcoming them require massive economic support and even greater political will. But it is only in this way that we can move towards a more open, just and stable world order."

James O.C. Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, United Nations, said the United Nations Charter maintained an imbalance of power: the Security Council was created as the main executive organ with a limited number of Member States while the General Assembly had one vote for each member. This structure did not function as intended, according to Mr. Jonah. For some time, the goals of the General Assembly were magnified far beyond the provisions of the Charter. Developing countries played a large role in the United Nations. As a result, the United Nations suffered from both lack of political will and funding. Now, as the United Nations becomes more acceptable to the Western powers, there is disquiet in developing countries.

Citing Haile Selassie, Mr. Jonah stated that "peace is not divisible". A balanced approach to the pursuit of peace is needed, one stengthening the role of the Secretariat and the Secretary-General. The United Nations should pay equal attention to all issues requiring international action. At the same time as the Security Council passed resolutions against the taking of hostages in Iraq and Kuwait, not a single resolution was adopted regarding thousands of detainees in Liberia. If this trend continues, Mr. Jonah said, people will not believe in the United Nations.

With the end of the cold war it is possible to reinvigorate the Security Council, Mr. Jonah said. It is important to encourage the North to let the United Nations play an effective role in economic development. Linkage between peace and development gives justice a new meaning. Mr. Jonah questioned the justice of developing countries losing more resources than they receive. Citing Henry Kissinger's book The World Restored, Mr. Jonah said one cannot have a world order that is not just. He concluded by citing hopeful trends in the United Nations and urged governments to focus on creating a just world order.

Guido de Marco, President of the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations, highlighted the problem of refugees, stating that there are 16 million people "floating about the world without a compass". In the Middle East, Palestinians have been internal refugees for at least three decades. In a recent visit to Jordan and the occupied territories, Palestinian women expressed their fear that violence, suffering, and the disruption of their children's education would endanger their people's future.

Mr. de Marco said the refugees in Ethiopia were desperate, due to widespread hunger among nearly 1.5 million refugees and retainees. Despite mountains of surplus butter, we all have to share the responsibility for the hundreds of thousands of people who die of hunger.

Mr. de Marco drew attention to the plight of the Albanian people, who are essentially "economic refugees", and thus do not meet UNHCR criteria. A serious threat to peace and security is that two thirds of the world's population live in circumstances not justifiable in today's society,

Mr. de Marco said. Global development is our greatest challenge. Its human dimension entails issues such as human rights, but rule of law and pluralistic democracy are also fundamental components of the development process. The hallmark of progress is the individual freedom of people, he added.

To gain a better understanding of the cause of conflicts, one needs to distinguish between national minorities and national entities, according to Mr. de Marco. The republics of the Soviet Union are examples of separate national entities with strong national identities. In this context, he said the problems in Yugoslavia have to be faced with great sensitivity if they are to be brought before the United Nations. The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat must be strengthened in order for the United Nations to deal effectively with these crucial issues.

Video Screening

Hugh Downs, Host, ABC News "20/20", introduced a United Nations video specially produced for the conference. "For the next 22 minutes, I think you will experience, with me, what peace, justice and development is all about. We see in the film a crowded refugee camp, where little children - orphans - take care of each other because there is no one left to care for them. And quickly, we see other children, smiling children. The voice on screen asks us a heart-wrenching question: How can we change the world so that all children can smile?" he said.

Mr. Downs has said that in the years he has been associated with the U.S. Committee on UNICEF, he has never given up hope that one day children everywhere will be happy and allowed to be children. "The child survival revolution of UNICEF has set us on a course that makes this possible," Mr. Downs said. Growth monitoring, breastfeeding, oral rehydration techniques and universal inoculation against the major childhood diseases has lowered the appalling death rate among small children and raised hopes for the virtual elimination of avoidable child deaths, he said. Mr. Downs said the world can turn away from its destructive path. For example, he cited the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which has led Japan to halt much of its drift-net fishing.

The crumbling of communism and the flowering of world-wide communications will also lead to a new order. This last decade saw the United Nations become fully effective on several fronts. Simultaneously, the age of space exploration brought us the first picture of our planet on a single photographic plate, which showed the thinness of the earth's atmosphere as well as the earth's lack of national boundaries. "It is indeed one small and lonely sphere, on which all life is more interdependent than we had thought. Different perspectives, different modes of thinking, prepared the way for events, that then, somehow, took us by surprise."

STRATEGY SESSIONS: AN EMERGING WORLD ORDER: STRATEGIES FOR ACTION

Strategy Session 1

Safeguarding Human Rights: Universal Education and Democratization

Moderators of the session were **Marjorie Thorpe,** Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations, and **Daniel Wegener** of the Baha'i International Community, Chairman of the NGO Committee on Human Rights. Panelists included **Clarence Dias,** President, International Centre for Law in Development; **Dimitry Mamleev,** Vice Chairman of the Board, Soviet Peace Fund and Assistant Editor, Izvestia; **Purificación Quisumbing,** Former Chairman, United Nations Commission on Human Rights; **Jany Gabriel Parise,** President, Organisation Mondiale des Experts, Conseil Arbitre; and **Elissavet Stamatopoulou-Robbins,** Chief, New York Office, United Nations Centre for Human Rights.

Ambassador Thorpe said building a new world order requires foresight and commitment. In the conflict between integration and fragmentation, we must renew our dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Foremost among these is the protection of universal human rights.

While economic integration can help strengthen domestic markets and stimulate industry, we must remain conscious of the threat that protectionist mercantilism poses to impoverished nations. We must find a way to reconcile nationalism and self-determination with the rights of linguistic, religious, ethnic or other minorities. A new world order must have international law as its foundation. As we approach the twenty-first century, the exchange of knowledge may surpass the redistribution of material resources as a key approach to enhancing development.

Technical assistance will be crucial to create the institutions necessary to bring solidarity between East and West, while technological cooperation will play a vital role in bridging the gap in social and economic progress between North and South. For all these reasons, education must be a priority for governments, NGOs and the private sector, Ambassador Thorpe said.

Mr. Dias said speaking of a new world order indicates the failure of the brave new world first envisioned when the Universal Declaration on Human Rights was proclaimed 43 years ago. The many armed conflicts worldwide show that peace is still a distant dream. A "world without borders" may allude to an attempt by the new superpowers - the United States, Japan and perhaps Germany - to expand their borders and influence. Mr. Dias said there is an interdependent relationship between human rights, development and democracy; genuinely human and humane development, and participatory democracy, are impossible to achieve without human rights. In developing countries, false paradigms relating to human rights, democracy, and development have thwarted the realization of any of these. True realization of human rights can only be achieved by adopting alternate, participatory, grass-roots paradigms such as those emerging from peoples' movements and NGOs in the developing world.

Territories have been decolonized, but not our economies and minds. Mr. Dias asked that human rights education move beyond awareness to action.

Mr. Mamleev spoke on the economic crisis and national contradictions in the Soviet Union, saying these problems affect the establishment of a new world order. The path to implementing human rights in the Soviet Union is complicated, and education is needed. He said young people constituted a majority of the thousands of defenders of the Russian Parliament during the attempted coup of August 1991. Mr. Mamleev said knowledge is an inalienable part of freedom, and he emphasized the close link between education and democracy. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's first decree, on the reform of national education, stressed the significance of education in order to develop the intellectual, cultural and economic potential of the country. He said the Soviet Peace Fund provides schools with human rights curriculum, and informs the Soviet public of United Nations achievements such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Soviet Peace Fund alsc conducts many social programmes, for groups including veterans and the disabled.

Ms. Quisumbing said human rights is an essential component of international peace and security, as stated in the United Nations Charter. NGOs play a critical role in protecting universal human rights. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights must become second nature to everyone. By using the rich mosaic of all cultures, universal and fundamental values that promote human dignity may be put into practice. Global democratization must start in the United Nations, but the decision-making system of the United Nations must be democratized and decentralized. She noted that most of the NGOs in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council are based in Western countries. Speaking on equity, Ms. Quisumbing said attention must be given to all human rights violations, regardless of the country in which they occur. Human rights issues must be depoliticized, despite the views of Western governments. Economics, environment and disarmament are human rights issues. In conclusion, she urged NGOs to play an active role in all human rights conferences and in the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Mr. Parise reiterated Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, saying states committed themselves to making primary education free and mandatory, to encouraging regular school attendance and to international cooperation to eliminate illiteracy. He stressed the strong links between education, economic development and democracy, quoting Alain Touraine (UNESCO Press, 1990): "Democracy is based on the most active possible participation of the greatest possible number of people in the political process". The challenge between regimes and ideologies is how to develop social rights in liberal democracies and political rights in socialist democracies. NGOs play an important role in ensuring that the Declaration on Human Rights is respected. This declaration added economic and social rights to those declared during the French Revolution, and today new accords are needed in the area of humanitarian intervention, bioethics and environmental protection. NGOs must ensure that moral requirements become a right, and that this right becomes a reality for everyone.

Ms. Stamatopoulou-Robbins said the United Nations is a good instrument for guiding development, and noted that there are almost 70 United Nations declarations and conventions in the area of human rights. Addressing the meaning of 'democracy', she quoted the Secretary-General (Nov. 1990): "Genuine political democracy has little chance to survive and stability is

bound to prove elusive without social justice". Ms. Stamatopoulou-Robbins said the right to education is fundamental. The content of education is also crucial, and it must be aimed at creating free minds, not used as a means of indoctrination. Virtually all human rights conventions emphasize the value of education, including the recently adopted being the United Nations Convention on Migrant Workers (adopted in Dec. 1990), which safeguards a child's right to education irrespective of the legal status of its parents.

Strategy Session 2

Peace making and Peace-keeping: the Evolving Role of the United Nations

This session was moderated by **Edward C. Luck**, President, United Nations Association of the United States. The panelists were **Marrack Goulding**, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, United Nations; **Dayle E. Spencer**, Director, Conflict Resolution Program, The Carter Center of Emory University; and **James Leonard**, Director, Washington Council on Non-Proliferation.

Mr. Goulding said that the end of the Cold War has allowed the United Nations to develop techniques which are not specifically mandated by the Charter. He discussed evolutions in the peace-making role of the Secretary-General, the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, and peace enforcement.

Mr. Goulding cited four issues that must be addressed in the next few years: (1) the question of who should command enforcement action by the United Nations; (2) the involvement of the United Nations in Member States' internal affairs; (3) the capacity of the Secretariat to carry out all of its new tasks; and (4) the problem of financing the activities of the United Nations. Referring to the financial crisis facing the United Nations, and to the 15 per cent reduction in Secretariat staff, Mr. Goulding concluded that if Member States plan to add so many new tasks, more staff and money are needed.

Ms. Spencer discussed what the Carter Center does to bridge the "mediation gap", which arises when intergovernmental organizations, international or regional, are unable to resolve the internal conflicts of nations. For example, Article 2, Section 7, of the United Nations Charter forbids the United Nations from infringing on a state's national sovereignty. To address what could be done by groups or individuals to resolve internal conflicts, discussions began in 1987, resulting in the formation of the International Negotiation Network. Ms. Spencer said that more people are becoming aware of these problems and are looking for ways to address them, either within the context of existing organizations or externally. More conflicts would be resolved if people considered the entire world, rather than just their own region, as their "sphere of influence." Ms. Spencer concluded by saying that the International Negotiation Network was not created to compete with the United Nations but to complement it.

Mr. Leonard said that institutions can only prevent crises if they establish a common body of principles by which to operate. For the last forty years, the conflict between East and West frustrated any attempt to establish such principles. Now, however, consensus on the need for disarmament is emerging. It is likely that within the next twenty years the possession of weapons of mass-destruction will not be accepted as legitimate. In the more immediate future, however, the international community will accept the notion that any weapon of mass destruction anywhere is a legitimate concern to everyone. To illustrate this, Mr. Leonard cited a nearly universally accepted treaty which forbids states to possess biological weapons. The acceptance of such principles will benefit future generations, he said.

Strategy Session 3

Environment and Development: Finding a Common Strategy

This session was moderated by **Noel J. Brown**, Regional Director for the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). The panelists were: **Michio Kaku**, Professor of Nuclear Physics at the City University of New York; **Karim Ahmed**, Secretary for the Committee for the National Institute for the Environment; and **Roma Y. Stibravy**, Environmental Expert, Consultant to United Nations Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and United Nations Environemnt Programme (UNEP).

Mr. Brown said the opening of the 46th General Assembly was also the opening of a new chapter for the United Nations, for two reasons: (1) the United Nations will now operate for the first time in a world free from the Cold War; and (2) the world is no longer polarized by ideologies, so the question of a dominating world-view is no longer an issue. Mr. Brown emphasized that amid all these changes, the fixed nature of the United Nations Charter could provide essential stability. Even so, the potential for striking a better balance between human activity and the functioning of natural systems offers a test for the United Nations. Striking such a balance between the environment and development is no longer an option but an imperative for action in a sustainable world, he said.

Mr. Kaku said that a new environmental order has yet to emerge. He pointed to the old world in which environmental energy crises were resolved by violence, as in the case of the Gulf War. This will be replaced by a new, peaceful way of resolving conflicts, as illustrated by the present Nairobi Conference, which deals with the greenhouse effect. Mr. Kaku said that unbridled economic growth is a contradiction in terms. For example, air pollution in Mexico City not only damages the health of workers but also retards economic growth by making industries reluctant to move into the area. Asking, "At what point do we reach the point of no return?", Mr. Kaku said that we are at the point that was reached by many other planets that once had life forms. Like these planets, if we continue to pollute ourselves to death instead of reaching for the stars, we will also self-destruct.

Mr. Ahmed emphasized that from the global perspective the two most important statistical trends are in the areas of population growth and the consumption of natural resources. He noted that by the year 2000, the world's population will increase by another one billion people. He said 80 per cent of the developing world's population consume only 20 per cent of the world's resources. In order to achieve sustainable development, it must be viewed globally. As examples of means for achieving sustainable development, Mr. Ahmed cited several projects with which he is involved. The Children's Earth Fund is currently engaged in the "Carbon Dioxide Challenge". This project tries to get children and their families to reduce the amount of energy they use in their households, with the goal of saving one ton of carbon dioxide per family per year. Such projects give our children hope for a better world.

Ms. Stibravy stressed her concern for the informal sector, the mother and child, and how the environmental message reaches them in developing countries. This sector deserves more attention when addressing the environment and the resources that are given to it. Ms. Stibravy discussed a conference for the Asia-Pacific region on environmental considerations for the chemical industry. 'Right to Know' legislation, which the United States has taken an aggressive role in promoting, states that industry should register operational information with the community. Only one third of the industries in the United States have fulfilled this obligation. Ms. Stibravy said that although the role of the private sector is not well known, industry and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) successfully organized the 1984 World Industry Environment Conference. One interesting event this year has been the creation of the Global Environment Facility, a special fund enabling developing countries to fund projects of environmental concern.

Strategy Session 4

Lifeline for Development: Economic Stability and Equitable World Trade

This session was moderated by **Enrique ter Horst**, Assistant Secretary-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, United Nations. The resource panelists were: **Roger Lawrence**, Director, Coordinator of the Resources for Development Programmes, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); **Betty Goetz Lall**, Project Director, Council for Economic Priorities; and **Herbert Samuel Walker**, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations.

Mr. ter Horst said trade, official development assistance or loans may generate the resources needed by both developing countries and those in transition to market economies to complement the lack of internal savings. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) pursues an important trade exercise. According to the World Bank, US$55 billion per year could be generated if all trade restrictions on exports from developing countries were lifted. This amount is comparable to the economic assistance received annually by the "least developed countries". The US$300 billion in

agricultural subsidies have a detrimental effect on consumers and on trade throughout the world, particularly in developing countries. Military spending amounts to nearly US$600 billion in Europe, and over one trillion dollars world-wide; equivalent to one million dollars a minute.

Mr. Lawrence said that commodity and manufacture trade are fundamentally different, since rather small changes in supply and demand of commodities cause large price fluctuations. Plummeting commodity prices in the 1980s deprived many developing countries of enormous external purchasing power. The more recent phenomenon of macro-economic instability in developing countries is characterized by large budget deficits; high and rapidly changing inflation; repeated devaluation of the national currency; capital flight; and high, variable rates of interest. External financial instability are related to the rise and fall of bank lending as a source of foreign exchange. During the 1970s, there was rapid expansion of financial flows to developing countries through commercial banks in industrialized countries, a trend which has now virtually ended.

Ms. Lall said that from 1981 to 1985, the United States had an unprecedented military build-up which contributed to enormous deficits. In order to repay this debt with interest, the government is borrowing from the social security trust fund. Ms. Lall called for a halving of the $290 billion U.S. military budget. The extensive military contracting in the United States has shifted from the central states to the coastal areas. According to Ms. Lall, in one year each of 25 congressional districts received $25 billion for military hardware. One billion dollars has been allotted to clean up waste produced by military bases. A Congressional commission will address the closure of some of the 875 military bases in the United States. However, no steps are being taken to reduce the $10 billion budget of three nuclear laboratories. In conclusion, Ms. Lall noted that it will take many years and much funding to clean up contamination of the communities near at least 12 nuclear plants.

Ambassador Walker said major concerns of developing countries are whether fewer resources will be allocated to them in favor of Eastern European countries, and whether interest rates on their large debts will increase. At the 1991 High Level Meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, developed countries had pledged that this would not be the case. Ambassador Walker said debt forgiveness is necessary for economic stability and equity. Some 45 per cent of the debt of developing countries is owed to such institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He noted that for the first time, the World Bank has called for cooperation among the state, private sector and people at the grass-roots level. It is now generally agreed, he said, that centrally planned economies are failures and that unfettered market systems are not desirable either. He recommended that NGOs persuade their governments to follow the Stockholm Initiative, which is a follow-up of the Brandt Commission.

13 September 1991 (Morning)

The Emerging World Order: We The Peoples-- New Challenges and Opportunities for NGO Action

Farouk Mawlawi, Chief, NGO and Institutional Relations Section, Department of Public Information, began the morning plenary session by observing that the first two days of the conference had led him to believe the right theme had been chosen. He thanked all attending NGOs for their many positive comments. Peace, justice and development were necessary for a world in which we would like our children to grow, Mr. Mawlawi said. It was obvious from the start of the conference that the speakers agreed on the interrelationship of these basic ingredients; no meaningful, lasting peace could prevail without justice. Without development, there is poverty and deprivation. Development, in turn, depended upon peace. There is no such agreement on the term "a new world order". However, the momentous events of recent months surely indicate that we are emerging from what has prevailed during the past few decades. There is much reason for awe in the future. The emerging world order brings tremendous challenges and opportunities to the NGO community.

Aparna Basu, Secretary General, All India Women's Conference, said that despite remarkable changes such as arms reductions, there were still areas where walls exist and conflicts are actually occurring. No lasting peace could be achieved without development. "Development is another name for peace." Rising affluence and increasing poverty are a pronounced and paradoxical feature of the present world scene. The profound changes in the world economy have brought prosperity to some areas, but conditions in developing and least developed nations have deteriorated. Disparities between the North and the South have to be removed. A just or peaceful world order does not exist when people in some countries die of starvation, while others have surplus food to throw away. We have to work to remove poverty and its consequences: hunger, disease, homelessness, and illiteracy.

From its very inception, the United Nations recognized the role of NGOs. After decolonization, a new role was conceived for NGOs: the task of development. Today, some 1,500 NGOs bring their strength and expertise to the United Nations, helping to formulate and implement United Nations programmes on all major issues. NGOs can help mobilize people and make development more participatory. They can also help to focus government attention on issues.

The International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade (1991-2000) addresses many issues, including disarmament, human resource development, prevention and control of AIDS, the 1992 conference on environment and development, and the 1994 international meeting on population. These will all provide opportunities for the wide involvement and participation of NGOs.

Collaboration between NGOs and the United Nations is crucial in such areas as population, health and human resources and protecting the environment. The WHO has done excellent work in many areas, including

eradicating smallpox from the world. UNICEF gives supplies and equipment to about 300,000 health and day care centres and schools. More than 4,500 development projects in Asia and Africa, Europe and Latin America, are aided by the UNDP. But United Nations agencies cannot reach out alone to their global constituencies. NGOs play a vital role in extending the United Nations's capacity.

Ms. Basu observed that a mix of social, economic, and political forces exert pressure on the environment. Demographic expansion, the lack of food resources, and the degradation of the natural environment concern every one of us. Women, in particular, can find common ground for action. Some of the new opportunities for cooperation include: uniting at the grass roots and national level to improve the water supply and the quality of water, forming discussion groups on how to protect the soil and enhance food security, studying the effects of irrigation, or using religious traditions to enhance environmental education.

Ms. Basu said that an educated woman still plays a crucial and much more important role in development than does an educated man. According to Ms. Basu, women have been very active in the environment movement in India. Promoting literacy is another area in which women are concentrating. The 1991 Indian census revealed that only 39 per cent of Indian women above the age of seven are literate, a 10 per cent increase from the previous census in 1981. Literacy for all is a goal to be achieved by the year 2000. For full participation in any development programme, education is a necessary condition. Ms. Basu concluded by saying that NGOs must work together at the local, national and regional level to exercise their full strength.

Myriel Davies, Deputy Director, United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, began by quoting Barbara Ward: "This planet, interdependent, lonely in space, only one earth; you must care for that planet." Ms. Davies also recalled remarks made by Lord Nell Baker about his visit to Hiroshima: "Men, women and little people were on the streets. And one cricket ball out of the sky and they were lost forever. They disappeared from the face of the earth. That must never happen again". Ms. Davies observed that Africa is now in crisis, despite promises made by the international community in 1986 (with the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development). She said that the NGO community must now see that governments live up their promises - especially those made at the 1990 World Summit for Children.

NGOs also had a role in addressing changes to be made in the peace-making and peace-keeping functions of the United Nations (e.g. the role of the Secretary-General or of the Military Staff Committee). It is the job of NGOs to support the United Nations, its principles and its work, as well as to consider changes to be made. Ms. Davies recalled asking the former Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Sir Brian Urquhart, about the work of the United Nations, who responded, "It is not singing a few hymns and going home. It's a long, long, hard struggle".

Ms. Davies also spoke of "cruel press reporting" about the United Nations. NGOs, in particular, must defend the United Nations, to make sure people can understand what it can do. Ms. Davies concluded by saying that her government would only do what NGOs shout and fight for them to do.

Stephen Lewis, Former Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, began by saying that in all the years he had been involved with the United Nations this was the first time that he had ever participated on a panel which reflected gender equity.

The emerging new world order should not be romanticized. While the end of the cold war, and the burst of democratization, are indeed seeds of hope, there are also appalling signs of menace around the world. Mr. Lewis said that the recent Gulf war humiliated the United Nations which served as a vehicle for the foreign policy of one country rather than as a central player. It was not useful for the United Nations to be reduced to a passive surrogate. It was not the organization's finest hour.

The disintegration of communism ideology and the dismantling of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union is an exhilirating truth. But nationalism could lead to violence and challenge human rights. Huge trading blocks strongly reinforce wealth and privilege, while large numbers of developing countries are consigned to permanent impoverishment. The objective of human-centered development was therefore denied.

This is a world where every and any rationale to sustain the arms race was still invoked. One example was the continued delivery of arms to the Gulf after the war was over. The current willingness to use the difficulties within the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to justify defense budgets demonstrated the difficulty of achieving disarmament.

Environmental damage threatens the planet, yet certain industrial countries were stalling and impeding discussion. One superpower now dominated the world. Its preoccupations with free markets led to the imposition of conditions on developing countries, who were not in a position to embrace them easily.

Dissent from the romantic view of the post-cold-war-period was hushed. Idealism and principle had occasionally given way to realpolitik. NGOs collectively had to take this opportunity to civilize humanity.

Mr. Lewis focused on four points for action:

1) Reform of the United Nations. Many questions centred on the structure of the Security Council, including who would sit in the seat of the Soviet Union, how the veto would be exercised in the future, and whether Japan and Germany would become permanent members. The Stockholm initiative on common responsibility in the 1990s recommended establishing a commission on global government. This fall the General Assembly would address reforming the United Nations, to be implemented in 1995 on its 50th anniversary.

2) The need to resurrect the peace dividend. The end of the 1980s raised hopes for a "peace dividend" as a result of the reduction of the arms race and the end of the cold war. With the Gulf crisis, however, 60 million dollars went to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Nothing could justify spending a trillion dollars a year on arms.

3) The need for greater focus on economic and environmental issues. The great issues of the 1990s are development and environment, and if the United Nations did not focus on those items, then the institution would be in difficulty.

4) The needs of children. The 1990 World Summit for children set out a plan of action with targets for health, education, literacy, nutrition, and water, all of which gave NGOs an opportunity to improve the human condition. The Organization of African Unity had asked that there be a donors conference on the African child.

Mr. Lewis recalled that when he was a permanent representative for Canada, NGOs truly made a difference. It was hard to persuade them of that. NGOs had to engage in an unrelenting advocacy, acting both as the consciousness and as consciousness-raisers of the international community.

Valentina V. Tereshkova, Chair, Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Foreign Countries, said that as a former astronaut who flew in outer space 30 years ago, she was glad that women together with men were building a new order.

Ms. Tereshkova said that the conference was unusual, since those in attendance were not only witnesses to this process but also active participants in it as well. Humanity is entering a new world in which social and economic development, the health of individuals and of society, and the protection of the environment, will be key tasks. These new problems will require free, non-dogmatic discussion.

A sign of the profound changes leading to a new world order is that more attention is being given to ideas from the public at large, including NGOs.

Both in Moscow and in New York, the same concern is voiced. Important problems of world policy are being solved without paying due attention to their human dimension. Consideration of political and economic aspects alone are no longer sufficient international relations. Living in an interdependent world, all of us should seek common spiritual and intellectual bonds while preserving the multinational diversity of cultures.

Although ten years remain until the end of the century, we have already stepped into the new millennium because many current problems will long remain on our agenda. We must consider the cost of social, demographic, and national processes, and of the development of culture and religion. Broad international corporation will be needed to protect the environment, secure sustainable and well-balanced development, protect democracy and human rights, and ensure control over armament and disarmament.

In recent years, people in various countries have been joining together in the framework of national initiatives and non-governmental movements. Each has its own vision of the new world order. The United Nations itself was created from the ideas of scientists, politicians and public figures, to become part and parcel of international life. Global rivalry has gradually been yielding to global cooperation. A new international order requires a strong United Nations. The contribution of NGOs will be particularly important, because of their unbiased views of the United Nations, Ms. Tereshkova said.

Recent events in the Soviet Union confirm the importance of establishing a new order. People's attachment to freedom and democracy has contributed to the restoration in Soviet society of the forces of law, and respect to the constitution, democracy and human rights.

Human rights have been recognized in the Soviet Union only since the beginning of perestroika. On 5 September 1991, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, had adopted a declaration of human rights and freedoms. Within the borders of the union, there were more than 500 sovereign states and national state formations, and more than 300 peoples - each of whom had its own identity and unique culture. Among these peoples, the Russian people numbered more than 145 million and had a long and glorious history. Each people had a sovereign right to choose the road of its development. One of the possible names for the future renovated union is the "Union of Sovereign Republic States".

The measures adopted at the special session of the Congress of the Peoples Deputies would bring about considerable changes in the Soviet Union and in the life of its peoples. The development and the strength of democracy in each of the sovereign republics that participate in the union would be an important contribution to the new world order. Ms. Tereshkova said that the union would remain but undergo serious changes. Each republic will determine its form of participation in the union. The end of totalitarianism instills hope, but one must not forget alarming processes such as continuing international conflicts, the economic crisis, or the deterioration of the social situation of peoples.

Russia and the other Soviet republics needed the support of world public opinion to carry out large-scale exchanges of expertise and knowledge. An important component for a new world order would be the establishment of trust and mutual understanding.

13 September 1991 (Afternoon)

The Role of the Media in an Energing World Order

This session was moderated by **Ian Steele,** New York Bureau Chief, "Depthnews" Service, the Press Foundation of Asia. The resource panelists included: **Paulo Amorim,** New York Bureau Chief, Globo TV Network, Brazil; **Leslie Gelb,** Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times; **Trina McQueen,** Vice President, News, Current Affairs and Newsworld, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC); **Frederick Eno,** U.S. Correspondent, African Concord; and **Hamid Mowlana,** Professor, Director, International Communication Program, School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Steele spoke of the pressure which confronts reporters in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Improved communication technology and the willingness of television networks to provide continuous coverage of breaking news increasingly make print media secondary in importance. According to Mr. Steele, representatives of the media often appear "larger than life", insightful and on target, but their role can sometimes be overstated. They carry a tremendous responsibility but are nevertheless capable of error. Mr. Steele said that the media should remind its audience that poverty,

hunger, illiteracy, and the rising anger of the underprivileged have not abaited. Weapons of mass destruction are not the only threats to global security. The 300 journalists accredited to the United Nations could help the United Nations promote its aims, he said.

Mr. Amorim said the war in the Persian Gulf introduced the people of his country to live television coverage of international events. He spoke of the tremendous power wielded by television, asserting that live newscasts could prevent coups, that greater TV coverage from the North would precipitate change in the South, and that superior forms of political organization would flourish if the media reaches the proper audience.

A revival of nationalism is occurring in the Soviet Union, Germany and Yugoslavia, and a new era of domestic economic policies is dawning world-wide. The role model seems to be the half-open markets of Europe and Japan rather that the open markets of the United States. Despite regional economic integration, there are not open markets for all, nor any guarantee that a new democratic world order will follow the establishment of free markets.

Mr. Amorim said that a new world order is about the end of tyrannies. He said that Mexico illustrates that free market economy and political democracy do not necessarily go hand in hand. Brazilians, Mr. Amorim concluded, have learned the hard lesson articulated by Mexican poet Octavio Paz: "the soul of nations change as fast as the shape of mountains".

Mr. Eno said there is still no indication that an emerging world order would guarantee peace, justice and development for those who do not have access to them. Although encouraging developments are taking place in Lebanon, South Africa, Western Sahara, Cambodia, the Korean peninsula and the Baltic Republics; resurgent ethnic conflicts continue in Yugoslavia and some Soviet Republics; endemic guerilla wars rage on in central and South America; and the Palestinian question remains unresolved, Mr. Eno said. The civil war in Liberia went almost unnoticed because of the Gulf conflict.

In order to establish the media's role in an emerging world, we must re-examine its role in the old world. In addition to the many lives lost during a conflict, the media's ability to disseminate information also suffers. As we pursue fairness and objectivity, we must not forget the important contribution of individual journalists, small newspapers and media groups. More equitable attention must be given to the journalists killed during conflicts, but neglected as victims.

Mr. Eno said that the flow of information primarily from North to South called into question the existence of a "global media". He also called for greater recognition for journalists who risk their lives to inform the public. The main task of the media should be to ensure the free flow of information without the biases of ideology or culture. But media management often obstructs objective reporting. Coverage is omitted or distorted according to the prevailing view on what is appropriate for the audience to receive at a given time.

The United Nations, with its enhanced status after the Gulf conflict, should explore possibilities of bridging the information gap between North and South. Mr. Eno called for a better use of available advanced media technology in order to cover events and issues all over the globe. The media could help

Mr. Gelb said the media in preoccupations and backgrounds are too diverse to be categorized and far less influential than often presumed. It is extremely difficult for journalists to report on an 'emerging world order' which is decidedly disorderly. But disorder is a prerequisite for freedom, Mr. Gelb said.

The principle business of journalism consists of recording what people with power say. Of "elite" newspapers and TV network news based in the United States, he said the bulk of the space and time was devoted to coverage of President Bush.

The business of the media is reporting events, not truth, Mr. Gelb said. The power of the media resides in its power to choose which ideas to present. While an editor of the op-ed page of The New York Times, Mr. Gelb noticed that the same people offered their ideas repeatedly. The media is not doing a good job addressing the substance of issues mainly because the audience is not interested, Mr. Gelb said. An article exceeding 750 words loses more than 50 per cent of the readership; viewers stop paying attention to a TV sequence after 27 seconds.

The average reader of The New York Times spends approximately 40 minutes reading the paper, starting with the front page, turning to the op-ed page and reading selectively throughout. The overwhelming majority of New York Times' readers do not read the 17 daily columns (1,000 words each) of foreign affairs coverage. In conclusion, Mr. Gelb said "we are, at our best, faithful conveyors of information and ideas, and that is the standard you ought to keep us to".

Ms. McQueen said the emerging world order has not touched the entire world, and is either emerging so fast or changing its shape so often that we cannot recognize it. In many parts of the world, we are on the brink of a great triumph of individual liberty, Ms. McQueen said.

She presented two paradoxes: 1) in a world that is exhilarated by the new democracies, citizens of the old democracies are cynical and frustrated with politics, i.e. a world that is fascinated with democracy is contemptuous of politics; 2) although TV news has never been more central and powerful, serving as a source of ostensible liberation, the future of TV news has never been more in doubt.

In the new democracies, networks based in the United States, which Ms. McQueen called the leading sources of free information, are watched mainly by elites. But the new democracies have neither invested in nor supported independent TV journalism in any real way. In Romania, the only independent TV station may broadcast for only 90 minutes a day, starting at midnight. In Bulgaria, new members of parliament have angrily denounced TV programmes that question them. In Poland, the government-appointed head of television cancelled a news magazine programme after it showed disgruntled minors storming Lech Walesa's residence. In Czechoslovakia, journalists complain that state TV is still under firm control; one official has threatened to jail reporters.

Ms. McQueen said the United Nations and UNESCO must abandon the new world information order; "the problems it tried to solve are real; the solution is dumb and dangerous to freedom". The United Nations should refrain from setting standards and regulations to which all media are expected to adhere. Standards should rather be established as a contract between each media organization and its audience. Commending UNESCO for offering technical assistance to the development of media in emerging democracies, she encouraged United Nations-sponsored awards and sholarships and exchanges of broadcasting engineers. The United Nations could make itself a model of access and freedom of information about its activities and decisions, and it should continue to provide fora for problem solving.

Mr. Mowlana challenged the Western concept of the new world order in his address, "The Emerging World Order: For Whom and For What?" Rather than examine the unofficial, unpublicized, often desperate call for a new world order by less fortunate groups, nations, and citizens, the West sanctions the official, "new world order", publicized by the United States and other highly industrialized nations. According to Mr. Mowlana, this world order envisions: a global, unrestricted, market economy; control of information flows by dominant western transnational firms, and military and political coalitions which exclude the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Common perceptions of the new world order have been shaped largely by the media, Mr. Mowlana said. The notion that information and communication are culturally neutral is the greatest myth of our time. Many societies must now determine for themselves whether the emerging global media are a moral and ethical community or just another instrument of Western domination.

Despite these problems, NGOs and concerned members of the media can help establish a just world order, Mr. Mowlana emphasized. When we think "communication era," we must not limit our thinking to the role of conventional and highly technological media.

Production, distribution, ownership, manipulation of information, freedom of speech, and ownership and control of the channels of communication should become critical issues of concern. Media and communications throughout the world must ultimately be viewed as a whole, and the United Nations and other international organizations and institutions must "serve as peace-keeping theatres where nation-state actors might play out their roles, communicating frustrations that, if left unexpressed, might lead to violence," Mr. Mowlana said.

Global notions of peace, justice, and development are changing, Mr. Mowlana said. Western theories of human development, proceeding from an assumption that modern economic and social organization should replace traditional structures, have in the past permeated the agenda for international peace. Today, however, development is a universal challenge, and peace must be viewed as a global and public dialogue which allows for both agreement and dispute. Justice, Mr. Mowlana said, must now encompass the solutions to universal questions of cultural heritage, religion, traditions, and the environment. To achieve justice, "we must promote a set of principles that strives for the dignity and fulfilled potential of all human beings, and that protects the world from catastrophic war and destruction."

Mr. Perfiliev, Director, Dissemination Division, Department of Public Information, closed the conference by commending NGOs for their commitment to the United Nations Charter. Referring to the information services of the United Nations, he encouraged NGO representatives to attend DPI's weekly briefings for NGOs and to consult the materials offered by the NGO Resource Centre and the Dag Hammarskjöld Library. NGOs play a crucial role in identifying the most important messages of the United Nations and helping communicate these messages to the general public and NGO constituencies.

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